

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Is Mr. Seymour a Statesman?

From the N. Y. Tribune. The adversary is engaged at this present moment in the statesmanship of Horatio Seymour. Let us see what Mr. Seymour's claims to be styled a statesman's statesmanship must be made up of character, study, and experience. Napoleon was a statesman by nature; John Stuart Mill (before entering the House of Commons) by study; Palmerston by experience. Mr. Seymour has never held a national office, and so far as national politics are concerned he cannot be a statesman by experience. In the State offices he has held, the only evidence of statesmanship does not require a prohibitory liquor law. It does not require a gift of imagination to conceive that General Grant, in the same circumstances, must either have shown equal statesmanship by vetoing it, or superior statesmanship by signing it. He might have done more. He could not have done less.

Those who have ever troubled themselves to learn anything about politics will not accuse Horatio Seymour of being a statesman by study. He never studied. If he did he could not lie so to great advantage as he does in his public speeches. He skims the surface of history for half truths, knowing that a lie which is half a truth is ever the most successful. That a lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright. But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to do.

If he stumbles on a whole truth, he cuts it in two, dropping the kernel and feeding on the husk. Let us see how far his statesmanship would have availed us. During the agitation of the slave question, he recommended throwing open the national Territories to slavery, so that the slave power could have been strengthened in the Senate by the votes of all the present and future States west of the Missouri river, from Texas to British America. He argued, also, that slaveholders should be allowed to sojourn with their slaves, for all transient purposes, in the free States, to stop with them at the springs, or to take with them for pleasure or business. He would have given slaveholders eternal sway over the national Territories, and temporary sway wherever they went in the Northern States. Suppose Mr. Seymour's statesmanship had prevailed, would the slave power have been less tyrannical? Would the ultimate success of free principles at the North have been less certain? Would not Mr. Seymour's policy have strengthened the rebellion in advance, and so insured the final and irrevocable dissolution of the Union?

Then Mr. Seymour advocated the Crittenden Compromise. He wanted the North, after electing a President on the basis of "no further extension of slavery," to agree that if the South would haul down the Rebel flag, and allow Mr. Lincoln to be President, and the Union to stand, then Mr. Lincoln should consent to the indefinite extension of slavery, and the voters who elected him to the perpetual abandonment of their principles. Had this blunder been followed, it would have established that the defeated party at a Presidential election can always reverse the political effect of the election by threatening to secede. This is a Mexican statesmanship—not American. It is the statesmanship of brigands and rioters, not of Senates and Parliamentary bodies; of ruffianism—not Democracy. If Mr. Seymour had ever studied much, he would not have placed himself so exactly on a par with men who have never studied at all. But if Mr. Seymour had studied the Crittenden Compromise so far as to inquire whether the South were willing to accept it—to remain in the Union provided the successful party should repudiate and back down from the principles on which the people elected Lincoln—he would have found that the South would never vote for it, and would never have accepted it. Hence, Mr. Seymour's statesmanship is not that of study, even of the most superficial kind. Again, at the outbreak of the war, Mr. Seymour declared that he had no faith that the Union could be maintained by force; that he had examined the Montgomery Constitution; that it was better than our own; and that that better way was for New York and the other Northern States to come under it. Was this statesmanship? Is the cringing appeal, the fawning cry, the whipped and yelping hound, our best ideal of statesmanship?

Again, in 1862-3, he denied the constitutionality of the Draft laws, argued that a Union restored by coercion would be as great a crime as the Rebellion, taught that only Republicans should fight for the Union, and contended that emancipation was the death-knell of the Union. In 1864 he, in the Chicago platform denounced the war as a failure in the midst of the smoke and heat of the contest, encouraging the Rebels to persevere though they were already whipped, and predicting defeat for the Union armies who were already victorious. Was this statesmanship? Had the country assented to Seymour's doctrine in 1860, that the Rebellion could not be subdued, or in 1864 that hostilities should cease, our Union would have been dissolved, and the Northern States would have been plunged into a war among themselves by the efforts of Seymour and his friends to carry out the policy he had advised of seceding from the Union and joining the Confederacy. In these Rebel Confederacy under Lee would have stood ready to march into the Northern States and aid the efforts of the Democrats to carry these States over to the Confederacy and slavery up to the Canadian line. In short, Seymour's policies would have given us a united and independent South, a divided and conflicting North, and a country at war from one end to the other, after all hope of restoring the Union or destroying slavery had disappeared. Since Seymour's policies indicate neither experience nor study of statesmanship, if he be a statesman he can only be so by character, having been born such. But people who are born to the possession of great wealth of any kind, financial or intellectual, seldom live to the age of fifty-seven years without making it manifest. Mr. Seymour, however, has never proposed a policy or inaugurated a measure of any kind. He has been a mere critic of the doings of active men, a carper, not to say a slanderer, of those whose familiarity with public affairs he has had no opportunity to obtain, and with whose practical statesmanship he has never been brought into rivalry.

The New Democratic Rebellion.

From the Cincinnati Gazette. The Constitution of the United States provides that, on the application of any State Legislature, or of its Governor, when the Legislature cannot be convened, the general Government shall protect any State against domestic violence. The Legislature of Louisiana has made such application. The Government has enforced it by evidence of the lawless disorder now prevailing in the State, and the inability of the officers to suppress the disturbances

of the peace, and has asked that three additional troops be sent there. The action of the President on the case thus presented is not open to the charge of undue zeal in defense of the new State Government of Louisiana. He makes no direct reply to the Legislature, and never notices the Governor; but after much Cabinet consultation and cogitation, an order to the General commanding in that department is laboriously evolved. This directs the General to make such distribution of the troops already under his command as he may deem best, without delay when the President shall order it, and to communicate to the President any facts that may seem to call for military interference.

The order is bunglingly drawn, and it is not quite clear that the President does not mean to suggest the inference that after notification from the military commander he would still await a formal application again from the State authorities. But its main purpose is clear. He wishes to do just as little as will save him from the charge of disobedience to law, and just as much as will save him from having given any practical assistance to the struggling State Government. Some very sanguine people have professed to see in the order a recognition of the Congressional reorganization in Louisiana. We are unable to perceive it. The President makes no reply to the Governor. He takes no direct notice of the Legislature. He does not even inform the General commanding the Department that applications for aid have been received from the State authorities. He does not accept the testimony of the Legislature and Governor as to the existence of the alleged outrages, but requires the army officer to report to him if any such outrages should occur. In short, he utterly ignores the State government, and goes just as far as he dares in notifying the Rebels that it is illegitimate, and has no claim upon their obedience.

Still we have no apprehension that Mr. Johnson means mischief at the South, except in a negative way. He has no disposition to provoke the reassembling of Congress. If he can possibly avoid the recognition of the reorganized State governments, he will do it; but he will take no step so bold as to tempt another trial before a Senate now swelled by members from these very States. So far as he dares, he will simply leave them to take care of themselves.

Meanwhile his attitude and that of the Democratic party serve to encourage all manner of excesses on the part of the Rebels. What we have to expect for the next three months may be gathered from what has already occurred in several Southern States. We give elsewhere the ghastly array of facts on which the application from Louisiana was made for Government aid. The Governor has summed it up in a single sentence: "There exists no protection for the citizens in courts, and men are shot down in the roads, in their homes, and elsewhere, and no questions asked or steps taken to bring the offenders to justice." "There seems to be a settled determination," he adds, "on the part of those men who adhered to the rebellion, to either kill or drive away Union white men and leading colored men, so as to be able to terrify the masses of the colored population into voting as they shall dictate."

There lies before us a report made to the Constitutional Convention of Texas by a committee appointed to investigate the lawlessness and violence that prevail throughout that State. In a population of four times as great as that of Cincinnati, there have been, since the surrender, one thousand and thirty-five murders concerning which the committee have positive knowledge; but, they add, "the figures here presented come far short of representing the actual number of murders in Texas during the time specified." Look at the frightful details of occurrences within the month of July, as officially reported by this committee to the Convention.

"In the counties of Collins and Hunt, five men, known as sterling loyalists, were brutally murdered within the last two weeks by some Rebel desperadoes. The Hon. A. O. Cooney, a worthy citizen of Gillespie county, and a prominent Republican, was shot and wounded on the 10th instant, at home, by an assassin from a distant county. We also learn that W. H. Cotton, a Union man, was being mobbed on the 31st instant, in Brazoria county. Here, then, are six well-known Unionists murdered, and the life of another attempted—all in the present month. Some time ago the Rev. Joshua Johnson, an excellent citizen of Titus county, and against whom nothing can be said by anybody, unless it be that he has always been true to his country, was driven from his home and the State by Rebel intolerance. It is now a matter of general notoriety that loyal men in various parts of the State are receiving notices to leave, threatening them with death and the burning of their homes if they do not depart. It is equally notorious that gross slanders prevail among the Union men in many localities, and many of them are abandoning their homes for their lives. We also state that it is a fact that many honorable members of this body are in receipt of letters from those that love them, from wives and children, informing them of threats to take their lives, and imploring them not to return home. And we say further that the families of at least two delegates on this floor have been forced away from their homes by Rebel persecution since the meeting of this Convention. All the accounts agree in stating that twenty-five or thirty freedmen were killed, while not a single white man was slain."

"We conclude by expressing it as our deliberate conviction that, unless relief, prompt and effective, is provided, not only will any constitution presented by this Convention be defeated, but not only will elections be broken up or controlled by violence, but the loyal, law-abiding people of Texas will be hunted to death or driven into exile. We have it upon conservative testimony that in many localities the only means of escape for the loyal citizen is to flee through the State organizing Loyal Leagues without molestation."

Similar reports come to us from the remotest districts in several of the other Southern States. Everywhere the Rebels exhibit a fresh bitterness and courage, that can only be explained by their constant boasts that they have the Administration on their side, and are sure of support from the great Democratic party. Everywhere they boast that the existing governments are to be overturned, and that all the guarantees Congress has exacted are as worthless as waste paper. The South, which in the spring and early summer, was quiet enough to hold out inducements of capital, and to give promise of the revival of industry and the return of prosperity, is now as lawless and turbulent as in the spring of 1861. Now, as then, it threatens new revolution. Now, as then, it is more in earnest than those who judge only from its bluster are likely to suspect.

In one word, the Rebels are preparing for a rebellion against the reorganized State governments. Whose fault is it? What party was it that resolved that the Reconstruction acts were unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void? Whose candidate was it that declared the duty of the President elect to pronounce "the Reconstruction acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State Governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments, and compel the Senate to submit?" Who was it that demanded a President who should "trample into dust the usurpations of Congress known as the Reconstruction acts," and declared his desire to stand before the Convention on this issue alone, "which is the issue that embraces everything else?"

that say these things responsible for the bloody consequences at the South, and to stifle the result of their labors the new Democratic rebellion!

Radical Plunderers.

From the N. Y. World.

Not long ago Mr. W. J. Manker, of Washington, published a pamphlet exposing the extravagance of the Radical Rump in what are conveniently called "the contingent expenses of the House of Representatives." These contingent expenses cover the compensation of clerks, messengers and others employed in the House; the expenses of summoning witnesses; hack hire; use of parlors in hotels in all the leading cities in the Union; travelling expenses of the Sergeant-at-Arms; and the paper, gold pens, pen-knives, pantaloons, and other perquisites which are vaguely summed up as "stationery." Mr. Manker says in the prefatory paragraphs of his pamphlet that he "has been a Republican from the organization of the party in 1854; that he received an appointment in the Door-keeper's department in the House of Representatives through the influence of a Republican member, and continued in his position till July 1, 1868, when he resigned. These statements are to show that he has had opportunities to know something of the expenditures and extravagance he exposes, and that his publication is not biased by party prejudice. He says that he attempted to secure the attention of members to the shameful abuses and general squandering, but to no purpose, and that he finally "became satisfied that this scandalous waste of money would never be stopped, or honestly inquired into, unless the details of various of the expenditures were made public." So he printed his pamphlet in which he makes the following statement:

A Statement Showing the Expenses of the House of Representatives for the year ending June 30, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868.

Table with 2 columns: Year ending June 30, and Amount. Rows include 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, and Total.

This shows an enormous increase, the expenses of 1868 more than doubling those of 1864. The details exhibit an extraordinary expenditure, which, at least, is not explained. For instance, for the second session of the Fortieth Congress the whole amount of "stationery" would equal an allowance of \$520 to each member; there were \$6986 worth of pens for the House; the pen-knives amounted to \$5620, equal to fifteen knives at \$3550 for each member. No one supposes that members used, or even received, all these articles which the people pay for. The bills of the Sergeant-at-Arms amount to thousands upon thousands of dollars; he charges for 298,403 miles of travel for himself and members, not counting the actual charges of the investigation of the New Orleans riots show that nearly \$40,000 were expended, mainly to pay the board, washing, and travelling expenses of the carpet-bagging beggars who pretended to be "witnesses." These are but items in the mass of swindles which Mr. Manker has exposed. The House thought it worth while to investigate the matter of its own extravagance, and a committee was appointed, July 15, to inquire into the disbursement of the contingent fund for the years 1867 and 1868. This committee has made a report, and its explanation, as it attributes increased expenses to extra sessions and whitewashes generally. The report has been printed, but no further action has been taken; only Mr. H. McCulloch, of the committee, showing that funds have been improperly or illegally disbursed, and declaring that the committee is not a proper committee to investigate such charges.

"It is like," says Mr. McCulloch, "a member charged with corruption or fraud asking for a committee to investigate that charge and being appointed its chairman, to report on his own case." Yet the party in power, which has plundered the people of \$600,000,000 a year during the past three years, is now patching up its own accounts for campaign purposes, and by its own showing the people cannot continue that party in power, simply because they cannot afford it. Radicalism "moral," and all that, but it costs the country too much money.

Have We Conquered a Peace?—Shall We Have Peace?

From the N. Y. Times.

General Grant in losing his letter of acceptance, with the words "let us have peace," incisively hit the very heart of the party controversies. The great essential controlling issue in this Presidential canvass is nothing else than the choice between continued sectional strife and a permanent reconciliation. That issue is so plain that our opponents themselves do not try to hide it. All their dealing with it, thus far, from the beginning, has only been to make it the more conspicuous. With a fatal facility they are drawn to it in spite of themselves. They made haste to put it in the coldes relief in their platform, by the resolution which declared it null and of no effect, all that has been hitherto done for reconstruction, thus remitting everything to the civil chaos in which the war left us. They returned to it in the nomination of General Blair to the second place on their ticket immediately after his issue of the most incendiary and revolutionary letter ever seen in this land—a letter every syllable of which is an invocation of the old Rebel spirit, and an instigation to renewed violence. The Rebel allies of the party in the South have been equally quick to recognize the actual alternative. When Mr. Hampton, still in the atmosphere of the Convention, assured the people of Charleston in a public speech that the Southern vote must be cast without regard to the Reconstruction laws; and that if that vote shall elect the Democratic candidates they "shall be installed in power in spite of all the bayonets that shall be brought against them," and he proclaims his own readiness to enter the fight again, in these words, "Should South Carolina call her sons together to defend her altars, if life and volition are left to me, I will respond more cheerfully to the promptly than myself." And in like spirit Howell Cobb, at the Democratic ratification meeting in Atlanta, "challenges combat." "Enemies they were in war, enemies they continue to be in peace. In war we drew the sword and bade them defiance. In peace, we gather up the manhood of the South, and raising the banner of constitutional equality, and gathering around it the good men of the North as well as the South, we hurl into their teeth to-day the same defiance, and bid them come on to the struggle. We are ready for it if you are. Young men, in whose veins the red blood of youth runs so quickly, come! Come one and all, and let us snatch the old banner from the dust and give it again to the breeze, and, if need be, to the god of battles, and strike one more honest blow for constitutional liberty." This is just the revolutionary rhetoric that has been employed everywhere throughout the South by editors and by stump-speakers, in halting and helping forward the Democratic nominations. The same identical means are used now to "fire the Southern heart" as were used in 1850. The

incendiary work, too, is done by the same old hands at the business, with the exception of Yancy, who has been taken to his final account.

And it all tends to the same terrible result—reckless insubordination and bloody resistance. Though, for want of the sluiceway of war, this may not, at present, take the shape of another regular rebellion, yet the whole Southern atmosphere will again become impregnated, as it used to be, with a fixed spirit of insubordination which will lead but the favoring wind to precipitate itself into a sweeping revolution. Whether the sharp decisive crisis would be suspended for a longer or a shorter period would be of comparatively little consequence. We have already learned in our national experience that the very suspense of such a revolutionary element in the air is an immeasurable evil. It is a standing menace, which destroys all that security which civil government is, first of all, designed to establish. It invests everything with uncertainty, making anything like safe calculation impossible in any affairs, public or private. The great crime of the Democratic party before the rebellion was its long course of demoralizing the Southern mind, year in and year out, to such a degree that at last rebellion was made possible, and it is questionable whether the rebellion itself, even in its most flagrant days, was a heavier curse than the lingering agency of doubt and apprehension which preceded it.

The hope of making an end forever of all the local troubles did more than all things else to impel the country to fight the great struggle. The supreme aim of the North was to conquer a peace—a peace, solid and enduring, abolishing alike all disturbance and all fear of disturbance thereafter. If we have not conquered such a peace, the war will go into history as the worst of failures. It will turn out that all the incalculable blood and treasure which it cost were worse than wasted. In the last Presidential canvass the Democratic party declared the "prevention of the war a failure," and boldly presented that issue to the people. In the present canvass the real issue is still the same—whether or not the war shall be turned into a failure. On the other occasion the patriotism of the country roused itself, and deflected upon the party the most stunning defeat ever known in our political history. There is the same call for just signal an overthrow now. The course of peaceful constitutional government will be just as effectually promoted by sustaining General Grant now as it was by sustaining him when at the head of his armies then. Wade Hampton and all his Rebel allies will be just as much confounded in the one case as they were in the other.

There is one hope, and only one, for the real pacification of the country; and that hope is in such an administration as General Grant promises us—an administration which shall unite fidelity to the Constitution and laws, with a spirit of justice and good will to all—an administration which shall be inspired by a calm spirit and moderate counsels, which will follow with cautions but with constantly advancing steps the progress of the Southern mind—which by kindness and fairness in all its dealings with the Southern people, and promptness to redress all their actual grievances, will entitle itself to their esteem and confidence, and enable itself to oppose with authority and effect the instigations of all the old pestilence tribe of fire-eaters; an administration which will always prefer solid reality to untidy theory, and instead of making void the Reconstruction laws, will most tenaciously hold on to all that has hitherto been gained for reconstruction, thankful for its existence, and intent only upon making the work complete.

This difference between the result of the election of Seymour and the result of the election of Grant is clearly discerned and keenly taken to heart by the Union men of the South. Joshua Hill, the newly elected Union Senator in Georgia, who did most heroic battle against the Cobbs and Toombses of his State before the Rebellion, and held firmly to the old flag through all the varying fortunes of the struggle—this clearest-sighted and truest of Southern men, in his speech at Atlanta responsive to his election, in the most emphatic way enforced upon his loyal hearers the necessity of supporting Grant and Colfax, as the only means of saving the country from continued strife. From the beginning of the canvass all the Union leaders throughout the South, in their public addresses, have constantly presented this alternative of repose or tranquility as the dominant issue of this Presidential election. Their solemn convictions upon this matter ought to have a peculiar weight with all fair Northern minds, for their own patriotism, and in their hands, for the sharper tests, and with that they have had the best of all possible opportunities of knowing the present, as well as the past spirit and purposes of the national enemies around them.

Nothing is wanting, nothing Northern or Southern, nothing loyal or Rebel, nothing in the way of internal evidence or of positive testimony of deduction, confession, inference, or palpable fact—absolutely nothing is wanting to establish the real character of the present election issue. That once settled in any honest mind, so is all else.

The Trade with China—The Northwest Passage.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Our commercial relations with China are already of great importance. Engaged in the domestic trade of that country, playing between its queer ports, up and down its strange rivers and through the fairy land of nooks on the coast, there are now at least a hundred foreign steamers, and two-thirds of these are from the United States. This is an indication of the enterprise and intelligence with which our countrymen have pressed forward in the struggle for supremacy in all the channels of Chinese trade. From this spirit the recently made treaty grew, and by that treaty, drawn in honorable equality on both sides, we enter into a quasi commercial alliance that will give us the start of the world in trading on the wealth of the East. In the days when the circumnavigation of continents was necessary in order to reach Oriental countries by the sea, some other nations had peculiar advantages over us in the prosecution of this trade. Holland and Portugal, by their colonial system, had the monopoly in one age, and England, by her position and maritime power, distanced all competitors in another. But we have changed all that. Our expansion, our great political and commercial development, the astuteness, the thrift, energy, courage, and broad capacity of our people, have together nullified all odds against us, placed us before all others in the list, and promise to establish our trade there on a better basis than was found in either Dutch colonies or British bottoms. This is an indication of the change the direction of the great lines of trade that are drawn around our maps of the world. San Francisco, our commercial capital on the Pacific, conducts our maritime Asiatic relations with enterprising spirit; but when the Pacific Railroad is finished, and San Francisco has direct railroad connection with this city—with the whole country—the Oriental trade will receive through this association a vastly increased impulse. Thus the railroad across the continent, and the line of magnificent steamers across the Pacific will drive from

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